1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrassen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialized types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mawus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghruth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

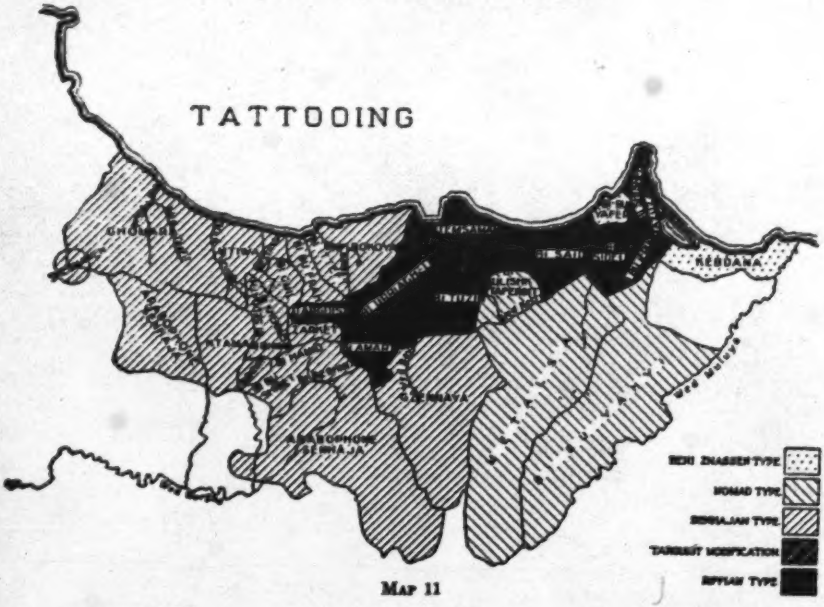
[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304

a woman to go to her husband without having been tattooed, and it is likewise disgraceful for a young girl to be tattooed who is not about to be married.

On plate 29 are shown the various types of tattooing designs executed in the Rif. In numbers 1, 2, 4, and 6, the line running down from the median point of the lower lip reaches to the point of the chin, and in number 1 the two lines running obliquely from the corners of the mouth terminate on the line of the lower jawbone halfway between the gonial angles and the chin. In number 3 the central cross is made on the left side of the nose between the bridge and the wing, in the same position as that depicted in number 6, for men.



MAP 11

The distribution of these various types is as follows:

Type 1 (Senhajan). All Gsennaya but Iherrushen, all the Senhaja except Bi Mesduy; Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestasa, and Mtiwa. It is also employed among those of the Ghomara who practice any tattooing at all, the occurrence of this trait there being sporadic and wholly voluntary.

Type 2. This is the central Riffian method, old style, practiced until within a generation ago. It was used in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen of Gsennaya, Temsaman, Beni Sai[illegible] Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, northern Beni Ulishk, and Galiya except Beni Bu Yafer.

Type 3. This is employed by the Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, southern Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, and (during recent years) part of Galiya.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

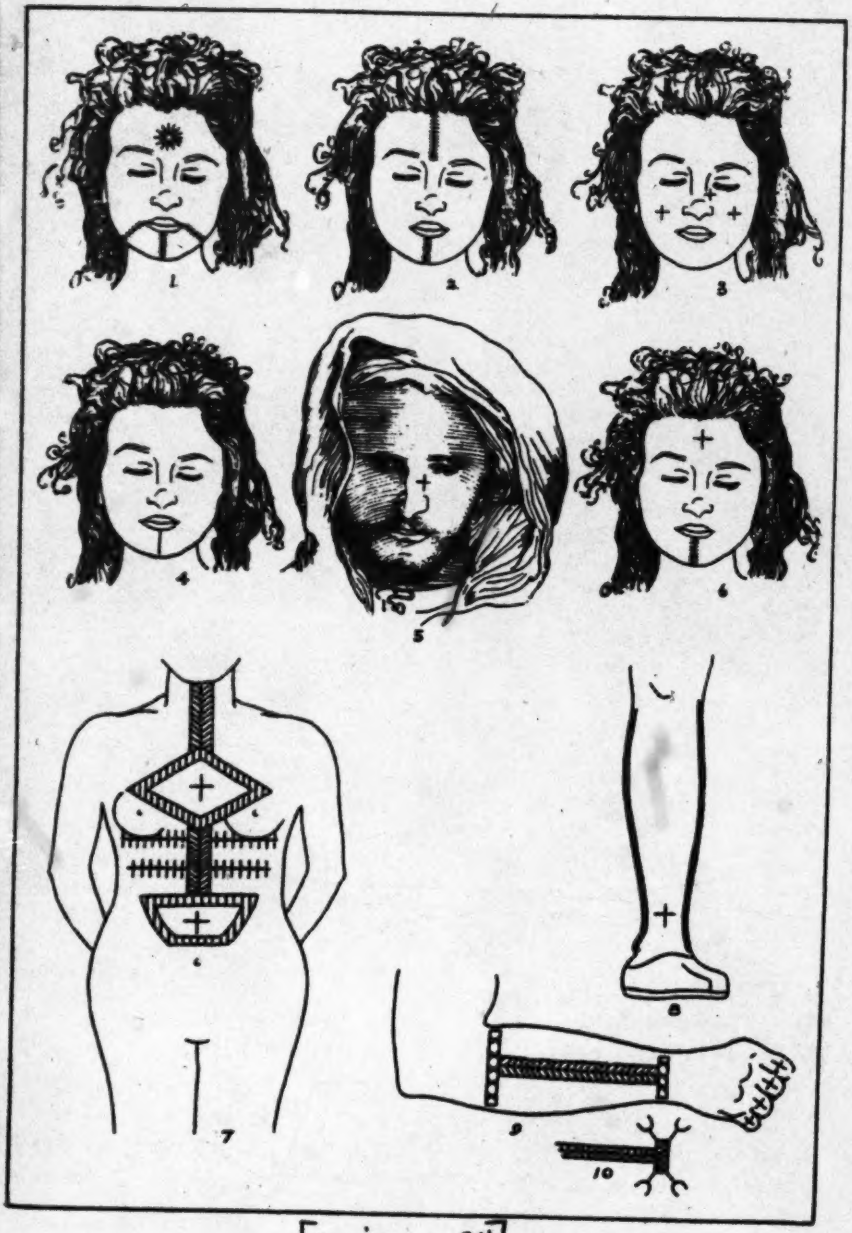
It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

[171] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TATTOOING DESIGNS



304
582

[facing p. 94]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Iharshliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ihershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Preceptor of Taghzuth: Taghzuth and Ktama.

Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iberrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialized meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

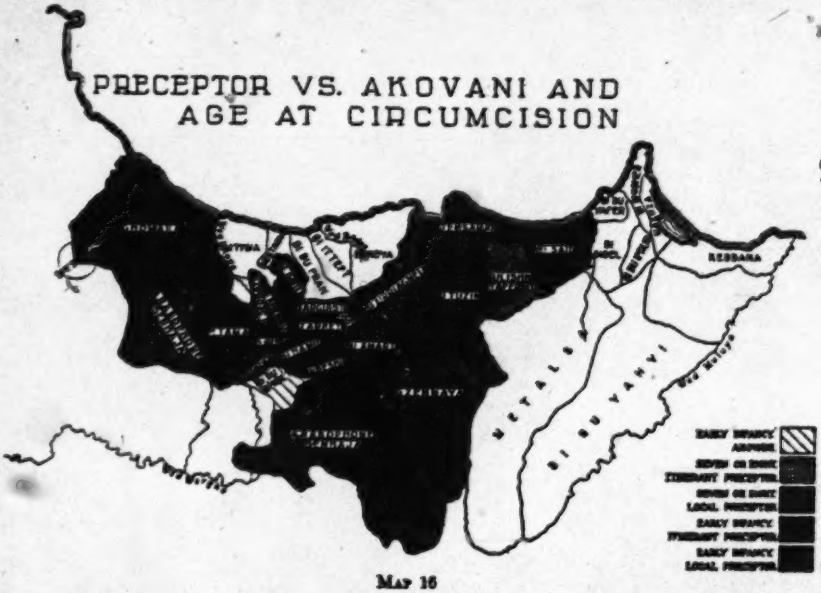
On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iberrushen, as has been previously noted.

The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

skin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 gives it back. The *akouni*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his
852 livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two;
875 among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at four-
584 teen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghzuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *rein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *rein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *rein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gsennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

● [417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

852 304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

163 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1